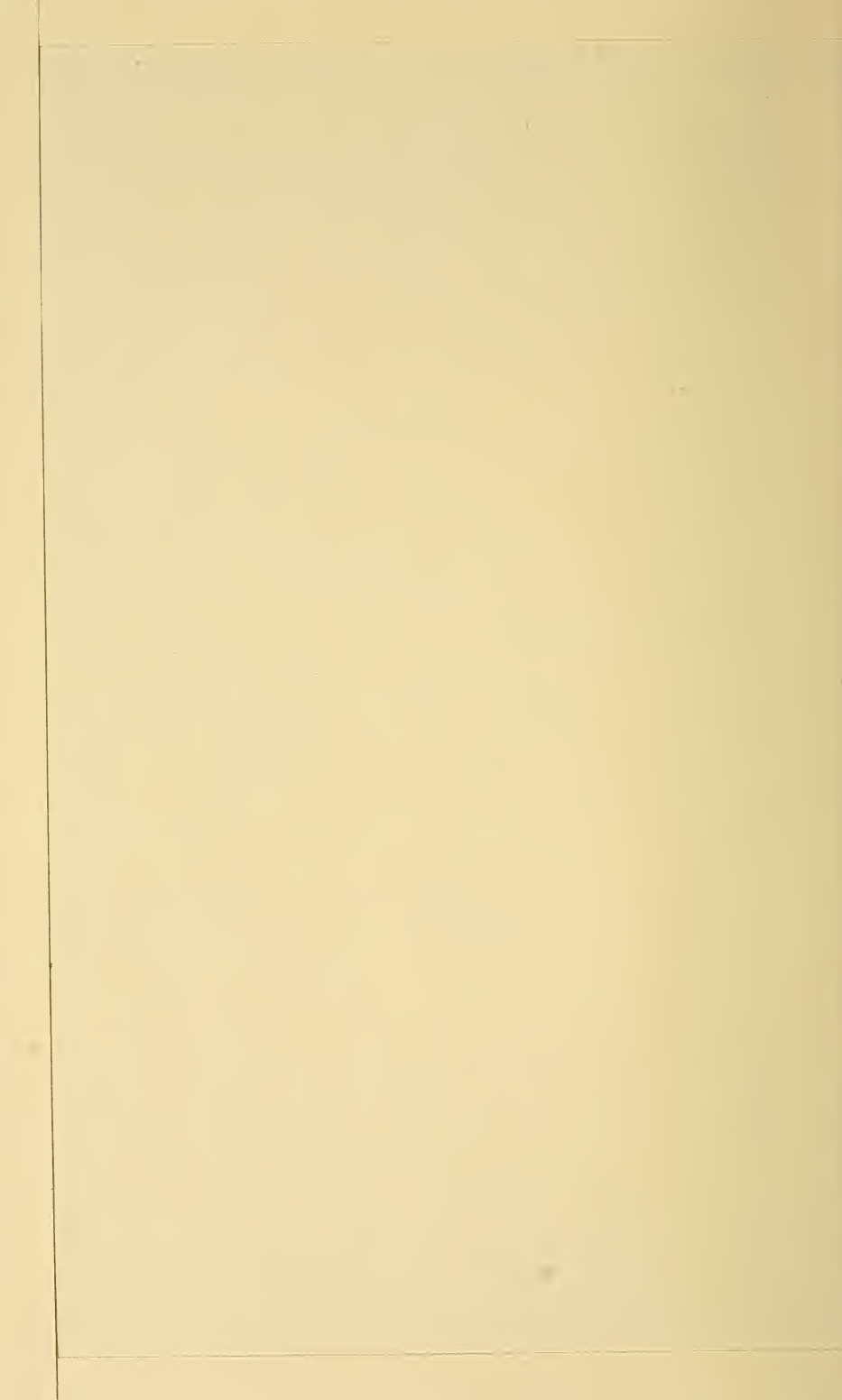


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THE
EXTINCTION
OF THE
AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY
THE FIRST STEP
TO THE
ABOLITION OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.

By JAMES CROPPER.

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PUBLICATIONS ON THE SUBJECT OF AMERICAN
COLONIZATION.

PREJUDICE VINCIBLE.—Egerton, Smith, and Co., Liverpool.

BAPTIST MAGAZINE, for July.

IMPERIAL MAGAZINE, for July.

ECLECTIC REVIEW, for February.

LIBERIA UNMASKED.—Oliphant, Edinburgh.

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER, No. 102. }

ANTI-SLAVERY RECORD, No. 7. } 18, Aldermanbury.

FACTS BY CLERICUS.—Egerton, Smith, and Co., Liverpool.

LIBERIA—a Lecture by C. Stuart.—Glasgow.

THE LIBERIAN CRUSADE. — J. and J. Jackson, Market-Place,
Louth.

THE EXTINCTION, &c.

WHILST the abolition of colonial slavery occupied the attention of the British public, they would naturally turn their minds to its ultimate extinction in the United States of America,—a country connected with us by language and common origin. The final extinction of slavery, and the civilization of Africa, have been represented by the agent of the American Colonization Society as the great objects of that institution, which has induced many friends of the abolition cause to give it their support. But a more accurate investigation of its origin, its own declarations, and the effects produced, have convinced many who were once its friends, that its objects have been directly contrary to the professions of its agent—that it was not formed with any view to the civilization of Africa; its single object from first to last having been declared to be “the colonizing of the free people of colour with their consent, in Africa, OR SUCH OTHER PLACE as Congress may deem most expedient”—that instead of having done any thing to soften or ameliorate the barbarous laws of the slave states, made against their instruction and improvement, this Society has powerfully supported that unchristian prejudice against the coloured people, in which these laws had their foundation—that instead of having any tendency to abolish slavery, its evident tendency and its effects have been to perpetuate that abomination; and, therefore, that its extinction, and not its support, is the first step to the abolition of American slavery.

The intentions of its founders, and the effects produced on public feeling by its operations, have already been successfully exposed in many publications in this country (a list of which is given in our second page), which establish all that has been said against it. But some have supposed that its objects were now become more comprehensive and benevolent than those of its founders; and that though *they* only sought to send out the free blacks to “Africa, or *such other place* as Congress might deem most expedient,” yet now its object had become the civilization of Africa, and the extinction of

slavery in the United States. Such an idea seems to have been entertained by its slave-holding friends in the United States; but their apprehensions must have been completely allayed by the speeches and resolutions in their last, the 16th Report, from which the following extracts are given, and which it is hoped will undeceive the British public on this point:—

“We have a growing population of free people of colour, distinct and separated from us by their character and condition; nominally free, it is true, but virtually slaves—a *proscribed and degraded caste*, whose liberty (if liberty it may be called) is but negative, giving them but little, and exacting from them every thing. And *it is these people alone* this Society proposes to colonize, and thus relieve our country from an acknowledged evil, *by cutting off a morbid excrescence* from the body politic, which has tended only to impair and corrupt our social system.”—*Speech of Z. C. Lee. See 16th Report of Colonization Society, p. 10.*

“It is indispensable, however, that the object of this Society should continue to be *what it has been professed to be, the colonization of the free people of colour only.*”—p. 11.

“Sir,—I reside in a slave state, alive to all the jealousies which a consideration of this kind must excite. No other state would be more sensitive at the slightest effort to withdraw, from its own peculiar cognizance, the exclusive and entire control of all questions touching this species of property; none will go farther to sustain her right to such exclusive jurisdiction; and no citizen of the state would vindicate that claim with more untiring zeal and firmness, than the individual now before you. But, Sir, the apprehension is groundless—*your constitution avows, and your whole history proves, that no such purpose exists.* This Society interferes with the *rights and interests* of no one. Who has ever claimed for the Society, or for the national government operating through its agency, the right to interfere with or control state legislation on the subject of slavery? There may be individuals in this Society, as there are out of it, who intemperately urge the subject of emancipation, and would desire to see it advance quite beyond the limits of prudence and safety. *Such enthusiasts* may be willing to make any institution, society, or government auxiliary to their *wild and mischievous projects*; but the Colonization Society is not responsible for these *intemperate fanatics*: nor does it countenance or encourage their schemes: it interferes in no way with the rights or the interests of the owners of slaves.”—*Extracts from the Speech of Mr. Chalmers, 16th Report, p. 12.*

“In many portions of the southern country, it is alleged, that the ultimate object of the Society is to abolish the tenure by which persons of colour are held to labour. *This allegation, Sir, is unfounded. It is not true, that the Society, either at its formation, or at any stage of its progress since, has ever been actuated by such a design.* I happened to be present when the first

preliminary meeting of this Society was held in this city. I heard the chairman who then presided (now a distinguished member from Kentucky, in the senate of the United States) declare the several objects for which the Society was to be formed. I heard, at the same time, a distinguished member of the House of Representatives from Virginia repeat the declaration, and reiterate the objects with great minuteness. In all this, not a word was said about *abrogating the tenure of property in persons of colour*. So far from it, it was distinctly stated, on the contrary, that with questions of this sort the Society had nothing to do."—*Speech of Mr. Williams, 16th Report, p. 13.*

"4. Resolved, That the true and single object of the Society is that which is expressed in its original constitution, viz.: 'To promote and execute a plan for colonizing, with their consent, the free people of colour residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient;' and that this object will be hereafter, as it has been heretofore, steadily adhered to.

"The question was then taken on the 4th Resolution, reported by the Committees, and decided in the affirmative unanimously."—*16th Report, p. 22.*

If what is stated in the fourth resolution be the single object of this Society, where is the authority of its accredited agent, Elliott Cresson, for saying, in the Introduction to the Report of the Board of Managers of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, that "the great objects of that Society were, the final and entire abolition of slavery?" If any doubt still exist, it may be removed by an examination whether the effects have corresponded with its own avowed objects, or with the unauthorized declaration of its agent; whether, in fact, any progress has been made towards the abolition of slavery.

Some of the quotations in the preceding extracts are from the speeches at the annual meeting for 1832. Such as these, and the articles in the African Repository, a work "published by order of the managers of the American Colonization Society," have been objected to as not being the act of the Society itself. To this objection it is replied, that they accord with its fundamental rules, which have been afresh unanimously recognized, as the principles on which it has always acted, and still continues to act; and that if the Society disapproved of any sentiment which was uttered by its friends and supporters, and which it published,—it would have disavowed such opinions. This it has done in the speech of B. J. Brackenridge, a member of the Society, but a determined enemy to slavery. After giving his speech in the 78th number of the African Repository, they remark, that "the speech, which we publish in our present number, is certainly an able and eloquent production. In the sentiments generally of this speech we concur; but we wish it to be understood, that we consider

slavery to be an evil which cannot, without producing greater evils than itself, be abolished, except by deliberate, cautious, and gradual measures." We may hence conclude, that had the Society disapproved the sentiments which had been published under its auspices, it would have distinctly disavowed them, as in the instance of this abolitionist.

There has of late been a great change in the disposition of the American slave-holders. Formerly emancipation went on as in other slave countries, so that the free Blacks had increased from 59,465, which was their number in 1790, to 186,446, in 1810, showing a very large increase from emancipation; but between that time and the census taken in 1830, they have only increased to 319,599—showing scarcely any thing beyond the natural increase. Had emancipation continued at the same rate, there would have been, in 1830, 584,578; thus no less than 264,979 are now held in slavery, who would have been made free, but for this change in feeling.

Who will deny that the great obstacle to emancipation is that unchristian prejudice against the coloured people, which has led to the enactment of laws against manumission, and which prejudice this Society has encouraged, strengthened, and palliated? The Colonization Society has been in operation for thirteen or fourteen years of the last period of twenty years; and there can be no doubt, that so far from its having had any tendency to the abolition of slavery, a considerable proportion of 264,979, still held in bondage, as before stated, may attribute that sore calamity to the existence of this Society. One thing must be admitted, that it has most fully sustained the character given of it by John Randolph at its first meeting. "*So far,*" he says, "*from being connected with the abolition of slavery, the measure proposed would prove one of the greatest securities to enable the master to keep in possession his own property.*"

In the speech of the Hon. — Archer, 15th Report, page 26, (see No. 7, Appendix,—p. 13) the horrid scheme is laid open. "If none," he says, "were drained away, slaves would become inevitably and speedily redundant." If they were not butchered, or checked by some other means, then "general emancipation and incorporation" would take place, "as in South America;" and this it seems is considered "a deplorable catastrophe." Is it possible this can be the language of a society whose aim is the abolition of slavery? They propose "*to provide and keep open a drain for the excess of increase beyond the occasions of profitable employment.*" It is impossible they can suppose, that these people could not find employment in America *profitable to themselves*; or that it is

necessary to take them from a country not yet one-hundredth part peopled. No—they mean that they would become too numerous to be held in slavery, with profit to the masters; and that slavery, if this Society did not open such a drain, would die a natural death; that the immutable principles fixed by our beneficent Creator would, in the nature of things, produce in North America, as it has done in South America, and in other parts of the world, an extinction of this horrible system, if not prevented or obstructed by this impious scheme. Will Christian Britons dare then to support it?

These short-sighted men, who thus vainly attempt to frustrate the beneficent designs of their Almighty Creator, must ultimately know to their cost, that their puny efforts shall fail; that instead of draining off, their schemes are rapidly augmenting the number of slaves, and thus heaping up the means of vengeance against themselves. Have they forgotten who has said, “Vengeance is mine: I will repay it?”

After a review of these circumstances, it will cease to be surprising that so little progress has been made in emancipation, especially in the middle States, where the transformation of the slaves into free men may be made with manifest and immediate advantage to their masters; where the successful efforts of free labour are seen side by side with the deadening influence of slavery; and where land cultivated by free men is of greater value than the land and slaves together in the same neighbourhood. Can there then be any doubt, that the extinction of the Colonization Society is the first step to the abolition of American slavery? And when we reflect that even good men, and sincere abolitionists, have been deceived by the glowing colours in which Liberia has been depicted, as a cloak for the abominations of the scheme, how can we avoid exclaiming with the poet—

“What language e’er invented yet can paint
Th’ abhorrence due?” &c.

* * The reader will find the statements here advanced abundantly confirmed, if he will take the trouble to peruse the Appendix, in which there are copious extracts from the First Report of the New England Anti-Slavery Society.

APPENDIX.

Extracts from the First Report of the New England Anti-Slavery Society.

WITH the doctrines, principles, and designs of the American Colonization Society, the New-England Anti-Slavery Society holds no fellowship—viewing them as utterly subversive of sound morality and the law of brotherly love, and calculated to inflame and strengthen those prejudices which have so long operated against the free coloured population of the United States. Submitting the motives of those who support the scheme of African Colonization to the inspection of Him who alone “searcheth the heart and trieth the reins,” and cheerfully exonerating the people of the free States, generally, from any design to persecute or enslave the people of colour in this land, the Managers proceed to state, as comprehensively as possible, some of the reasons which lead abolitionists to oppose the American Colonization Society.

They denounce and oppose it—

1. Because (as has already been shown) it denies the power of the Gospel to overcome prejudice, and maintains that no moral or educational means can ever raise the coloured population from their degradation to respectability and usefulness *in this country*.⁽¹⁾ By inculcating this disgraceful doctrine, it measurably paralyzes, in the breasts of those who embrace it, all efforts to improve the character and condition of this unfortunate class.

(1) ‘In every part of the United States, there is a broad and impassable line of demarcation between every man who has *one drop* of African blood in his veins, and every other class in the community. The habits, the feelings, all the prejudices of society—prejudices which neither *refinement*, nor *argument*, nor *education*, NOR RELIGION ITSELF, can subdue—mark the people of colour, whether bond or free, as the subjects of a degradation *inevitable* and *incurable*. The African in this country belongs by birth to the very lowest station in society; and from that station HE CAN NEVER RISE, *be his talents, his enterprise, his virtues what they may*. . . . ‘They constitute a class by themselves—a class out of which *no individual can be elevated*, and below which none can be depressed.’—[African Repository, vol. iv. pp. 118, 119.]

‘We have endeavoured, but endeavoured in vain, to restore them either to self-respect, or to the respect of others. (!!!) *It is not our fault that we have failed: (!!!) it is not theirs. It has resulted from a cause over which neither we, nor they, can ever have any control* [that is to say, they have coloured skins!!!]. *Here, therefore, they must be for ever debased; more than this, they must be FOR EVER USELESS; more even than this, they must be FOR EVER A NUISANCE, from which it were a blessing for society to be rid. And yet they, AND THEY ONLY, are QUALIFIED for colonizing Africa.*’ (!!!) —[Idem, vol. v. p. 276.]

‘They constantly hear the accents, and behold the triumphs, of a liberty *which here they can never enjoy*.’ . . . It is against this increase of coloured persons, who take but a nominal freedom here, and *cannot rise from their degraded condition*, that this Society attempts to provide.—[Idem, vol. vi. pp. 17, 82.]

‘Is it not *wise*, then, for the free people of colour and their friends to admit, *what cannot reasonably be doubted*, that the people of colour must, in this country, REMAIN FOR AGES, PROBABLY FOR EVER, a separate and inferior caste, weighed down by causes powerful, universal, inevitable; which neither legislation nor CHRISTIANITY can remove?’—[Idem, vol. vii. p. 196.]

‘The Managers consider it clear that causes exist, and are operating, to prevent their improvement and elevation to any considerable extent as a class, in this country,—which are fixed, *not only beyond the control of the friends of humanity, BUT OF ANY HUMAN POWER*. Christianity will not do for them here, what it will do for them in Africa. This is not the fault of the coloured man, *nor of the white man*, nor of Christianity; *but an ordination of Providence, and no more to be changed than the laws of nature*.’—[Fifteenth Annual Report, p. 17.]

2. Because it not only is *not* hostile to slavery, but in its reports and its official organ, and by its auxiliary societies and principal supporters, exonerates slave-holders from guilt, and represents their *criminality* as their *misfortune*.⁽²⁾

(2) ‘Slavery is an evil which is entailed upon the present generation of slave-holders, which they must suffer, *whether they will or not*.’—[African Repository, vol. v. p. 179.]

‘It [the Society] *condemns no man because he is a slave-holder*.’ * * * ‘They [abolitionists] confound the *misfortunes* of one generation with the *crimes* of another, and would sacrifice both individual and public good to an *unsubstantial theory of the rights of man*.’—[Idem, vol. vii. pp. 200, 202.]

‘The existence of slavery among us, though not at all to be objected to our southern brethren as a *fault*, is yet a blot on our national character, and a mighty drawback from our national strength.’—[Second Annual Report of the N. Y. State Col. Soc.]

‘They do not perceive the propriety of confounding the crime of the kidnapper, with the *misfortune* of the owner of imported and inherited slaves.’—[North American Review for July, 1832.]

3. Because it surrenders the great principle, that man cannot justly hold property in man; and regards the wresting of the slaves from their masters as great an outrage as the invasion of the right of property in houses, cattle, and lands.⁽³⁾

(3) ‘We hold their slaves, *as we hold their other property*, SACRED.’—[African Repository, vol. i. p. 283.]

‘Does this Society wish to meddle with our slaves as our *rightful property*? I answer *no*, I think not.’—[Idem, vol. ii. p. 13.]

‘It is equally plain and undeniable, that the Society, in the prosecution of this work, has never interfered or evinced even a disposition to interfere in any way with the *rights of proprietors of slaves*.’—[Idem, vol. vi. p. 205.]

‘To the slave-holder, who had charged upon them the wicked design of interfering with the RIGHTS OF PROPERTY, under the specious pretext of removing a vicious and dangerous free population, they address themselves in a tone of conciliation and sympathy. We know your RIGHTS, say they, *and we respect them*.’—[Idem, vol. vii. p. 100.]

‘It was proper again and again to repeat, that it was far from the intention of the Society to affect, in any manner, the tenure by which a certain *species*

of property is held. He was himself a slave-holder; and he considered that kind of property as inviolable as any other in the country.'—[Speech of Henry Clay. First Annual Report.]

4. Because it openly, actively, uncompromisingly, denounces the immediate abolition of slavery as injustice to the masters, a calamity to the slaves, dangerous to society, and contrary to the requirements of Christianity.⁽⁴⁾

(4) 'The scope of the Society is large enough, but it is in no wise mingled or confounded with the broad sweeping views of *a few fanatics* in America, who would urge us on to the sudden and total abolition of slavery.'—[African Repository, vol. iii. p. 197.]

'What is to be done? Immediate and universal emancipation will find few, if any advocates, among judicious and reflecting men.' * * * 'Here, that race is in every form a curse; and if the system so long contended for by the uncompromising abolitionist could prevail, its effect would be to spread discord and devastation from one end of the Union to the other.'—[Idem, vol. iv. pp. 202, 363.]

'Were the very spirit of angelic charity to pervade and fill the hearts of all the slave-holders in our land, it would by no means require that all the slaves should be instantaneously liberated.'—[Idem, vol. v. p. 329.]

'The Society, meeting the objections of the *abolition enthusiast*, in a like spirit of mildness and forbearance, assures him of their equal devotion to the pure principles of liberty and the powerful claims of humanity'. . . . 'We protest, *most solemnly protest*, against the adoption of your views, as alike destructive of the ends of justice, of policy, and of humanity.' . . . 'Come, ye abolitionists, away with your *wild enthusiasm*, your *misguided philanthropy*.'—[Idem, vol. vii. p. 101.]

5. Because it advocates a cautious, partial, gradual emancipation,—thus allowing that it is not incumbent on *all* oppressors to do justly and love mercy now, and that it is proper to cease from robbery and sin by a slow process.⁽⁵⁾

(5) Vide the evidence given in support of the 4th allegation.

6. Because, while it professes to remove those emigrants only who go '*with their own consent*' to Africa, it is the instrument of a cruel persecution against the free people of colour, by its abuse of their character, representing them as seditious, dangerous, and useless: it contends, moreover, that emancipation should not take place without the simultaneous transportation of the liberated—thus leaving to the slave the choice of banishment or perpetual servitude.⁽⁶⁾

(6) 'That the free coloured population of our country is a great and constantly-increasing evil, must be readily acknowledged. Averse to labour, with no incentives to industry or motives to self-respect, they maintain a precarious existence by petty thefts and plunder themselves, or by inciting our domestics, not free, to rob their owners to supply their wants.'—[African Repository, vol. vi. p. 135.]

'Placed midway between freedom and slavery, they know neither the incentives of the one, nor the restraints of the other; but are alike injurious, by their conduct and example, to all other classes of society.'—[Eighth Annual Report, p. 56.]

'No scheme of abolition will meet my support, that leaves the emancipated blacks among us.'—[African Repository, vol. ii. p. 188.]

‘We would say, *liberate them only on condition of their going to Africa or to Hayti.*’—[Idem, vol. iii. p. 26.]

‘*I am not complaining of the owners of slaves; it would be as humane to throw them from the decks in the middle passage, as to set them free in our country.*’ * * * ‘*Any scheme of emancipation without colonization, they know and see and feel to be productive of nothing but evil; evil to all whom it affects: to the white population, to the slaves, to the manumitted themselves.*’—[Idem, vol. iv. pp. 226, 300.]

‘Hundreds who hold slaves would willingly set them at liberty, were the means of their removal provided. And, till those means are provided, the liberation of the slave would neither be a blessing to himself nor the public.’ . . . ‘It is not therefore incumbent upon those who hold slaves, to set them at liberty, till some means are provided for their removal, or at least for their subsistence. They owe it neither to themselves, to their country, nor the unfortunate beings around them.’—[Idem, vol. v. p. 89.]

‘If the question were submitted, whether there should be either immediate or gradual emancipation of all the slaves in the United States, *without their removal or colonization*, painful as it is to express the opinion, *I have no doubt that it would be unwise to emancipate them.*’ * * * ‘Gentlemen of the highest respectability from the south assure us, that there is among the owners of slaves a very extensive and increasing desire to emancipate them. Their patriotism, their humanity, nay their self-interest, prompt to this; but it is not expedient, it is not safe to do it, *without being able to remove them.*’—[Idem, vol. vi. pp. 5, 110.]

‘The idea of emancipating our slaves, and *permitting them to remain within the limits of the U. S.*, whether as a measure of humanity or of policy, is most decisively reprobated by universal public sentiment.’—[Idem, vol. vii. p. 230.]

‘All emancipation, to however small an extent, *which permits the persons emancipated to remain in this country*, is an evil, which must increase with the increase of the operation.’—[First Annual Report, p. 36, 37.]

‘They will annex the condition that the emancipated *shall leave the country.*’—[Second Annual Report, p. 110.]

‘They require that the *whole mass* of free persons of colour, and those who may become such with the consent of their owners, *should be progressively removed* from among us, as fast as their own consent can be obtained, and as the means can be found for their removal, and for their proper establishment in Africa.’—[Seventh Annual Report, p. 113.]

‘Colonization, to be correct, must be beyond seas. Emancipation, *with the liberty to remain on this side of the Atlantic*, is but an act of dreamy madness!’—[Thirteenth Annual Report.]

‘The abolition of slavery was no object of desire to him, unless accompanied by colonization. So far was he from desiring it, unaccompanied by this condition, that *he would not live in a country where the one took place without the other!!!*’—[Mr. Mercer’s Speech in Congress.]

‘The Society maintains, that no slave ought to receive his liberty except on condition of being excluded, not merely from the state which sets him loose, but from the whole country; that is, of being colonized.’—[North American Review, for July, 1832.]

7. Because it confesses that its measures are calculated to secure the slave system from destruction, to remove the apprehensions of slave-holders, to increase the value of slave property, and thus to perpetuate the thralldom of millions of native Americans. (7) The proposition is self-evident, that as the number of the slaves becomes reduced by transportation, the whole remaining mass will rise in value, and may be held more securely in bondage.

(¹) 'So far from being connected with the abolition of slavery, *the measure proposed would prove one of the greatest securities to enable the master to keep in possession his own property.*'—[Speech of John Randolph at the first meeting of the Colonization Society.]

'The slave seeing his free companion live in idleness, or subsist, however scantily or precariously, by occasional and desultory employment, is apt to grow discontented with his own condition, and to regard as tyranny and injustice the authority which compels him to labour.'—[General Harper's Letter, First Annual Report, p. 32.]

'The slaves would be greatly benefited by the removal of the free blacks, who now corrupt them and render them discontented.'—[Second Annual Report, p. 112.]

'Their annual increase is truly astonishing, certainly unexampled. The dangerous ascendancy which they have already acquired over the slaves is consequently increasing with every addition to their numbers; and every addition to their numbers is a subtraction from the wealth, and strength, and character, and happiness, and safety of the country.'—[Twelfth Annual Report.]

'We all know the effects produced on our slaves by the fascinating, but delusive appearance of happiness, exhibited in some persons of their own complexion, roaming in idleness and vice among them. By removing the most fruitful source of discontent from among our slaves, we should render them more industrious and attentive to our commands.'—[Fourteenth Annual Report.]

'What is the free black to the slave? A standing perpetual incitement to discontent. *Though the condition of the slave be a thousand times the best—supplied, protected, instead of destitute and desolate—yet the folly of the condition held to involuntary labour, finds always allurements, in the spectacle of exemption from it, without consideration of the adjuncts of destitution and misery.* The slave would have then little excitement to discontent, but for the free black.'—[Fifteenth Annual Report, p. 25.]

'By removing these people, we rid ourselves of a large party who will always be ready to assist our slaves in any mischievous design which they may conceive; and who are better able, by their intelligence, and the facilities of their communication, to bring those designs to a successful termination.'—[African Repository, vol. i. p. 176.]

'Here, the African part of our population bears so large a proportion to the residue of European origin, as to create the most lively apprehension, especially in some quarters of the Union. Any project, therefore, by which, in a material degree, the dangerous element in the general mass can be diminished or rendered stationary, deserves deliberate consideration.'—[Idem, vol. ii. p. 338.]

'To remove these persons from among us, will increase the *usefulness*, and improve the moral character of those who remain in servitude, and *with whose labours the country is unable to dispense.*' * * * '*Are they vipers, who are sucking our blood?* we will hurl them from us. It is not sympathy alone,—not sickly sympathy, no, nor manly sympathy either,—which is to act on us; but vital policy, self-interest, are also enlisting themselves on the humane side in our breasts.'—[Idem, vol. iii. pp. 67, 201.]

'It places the attainment of the grand object in view, that is, to withdraw from the United States annually so many of the coloured population, and provide them a comfortable home and all the advantages of civilization in Africa, *as will make the number here remain stationary.*' * * * 'By thus repressing the too rapid increase of blacks, the white population would be enabled to reach and soon overtop them. The consequence would be security.'—[Idem, vol. iv. pp. 271, 344.]

'They constitute a large mass of human beings, who hang as a vile excrescence upon society—the objects of a low debasing envy to our slaves, and to ourselves of universal suspicion and distrust.' * * * 'If this process were con-

tinued a second term of duplication, it would produce the extraordinary result of forty white men to one black in the country—a state of things in which we should not only cease to feel the burdens which now hang so heavily upon us, but actually regard the poor African as an object of curiosity, and not *uneasiness*.’ * * * ‘Enough, under favourable circumstances, might be removed for a few successive years—if young *females* were encouraged to go—to keep the whole coloured population in check.’—[Idem, vol. vii. pp. 230, 232, 246.]

‘But is it not certain, that should the people of the southern States refuse to adopt the opinions of the Colonization Society, [relative to the gradual abolition of slavery,] and continue to consider it both just and politic to leave untouched a system, for the termination of which, we think the whole wisdom and energy of the States should be put in requisition, that they will CONTRIBUTE MORE EFFECTUALLY TO THE CONTINUANCE AND STRENGTH OF THIS SYSTEM, by removing those now free, than by any or all other methods which can possibly be devised?’—[African Repository, vol. i. p. 227.]

‘THE EXECUTION OF ITS SCHEME WOULD AUGMENT INSTEAD OF DIMINISHING THE VALUE OF THE PROPERTY LEFT BEHIND.’—[Idem, vol. ii. p. 344.]

‘The removal of every single free black in America, would be productive of nothing but safety to the slave-holder.’—[Idem, vol. iii. p. 202.]

‘The tendency of the scheme, and one of its objects, is to SECURE SLAVE-HOLDERS, AND THE WHOLE SOUTHERN COUNTRY, against certain evil consequences, growing out of the present threefold mixture of our population.’—[Address of the Rockbridge Col. Society.—Idem, vol. iv. p. 274.]

‘If, as is most confidently believed, the colonization of the free people of colour will render the slave who remains in America more obedient, more faithful, more honest, and, consequently, more useful to his master,’ &c.—[Second Annual Report, p. 9.]

‘If none were drained away, slaves became inevitably and speedily redundant. When this stage had been reached, what course or remedy remained? Was open butchery to be resorted to, as among the Spartans with the Helots? or general emancipation and incorporation, as in South America? or abandonment of the country by the masters, as must come to be the case in the West Indies? Either of these was a deplorable catastrophe. Could all of them be avoided? And, if they could—how? There was but one way, [to avert danger,] but that might be made effectual, fortunately: it was to PROVIDE AND KEEP OPEN A DRAIN FOR THE EXCESS OF INCREASE BEYOND THE OCCASIONS OF PROFITABLE EMPLOYMENT. Mr. Archer had been stating the case in the supposition, that after the present class of free blacks had been exhausted, by the operation of the plan he was recommending, others would be supplied for its action, in the proportion of the *excess of coloured population it would be necessary to throw off*, by the process of voluntary manumission or sale. This effect must result inevitably from the depreciating value of the slaves ensuing their disproportionate multiplication. The depreciation would be relieved and retarded, at the same time, by the process. The two operations would aid reciprocally, and sustain each other, and both be in the highest degree beneficial. It was on the ground of interest, therefore, the most indisputable *pecuniary interest*, that he addressed himself to the people and legislatures of the slave-holding States.’—[Speech of Mr. Archer.—Fifteenth Annual Report, p. 26, 27.]

‘None are obliged to follow our example; AND THOSE WHO DO NOT WILL FIND THE VALUE OF THEIR NEGROES INCREASED BY THE DEPARTURE OF OURS.’—[An advocate of colonization in the Western (Ky.) Luminary.]

‘So far from its having a dangerous tendency, when properly considered,

it will be viewed as *an additional guard to our peculiar species of property.*'—[An advocate of the Society in the New-Orleans Argus.]

'The slave-holder, who is in danger of having his slaves contaminated by their free friends of colour, will not only be relieved from this danger, but **THE VALUE OF HIS SLAVE WILL BE ENHANCED.**'—[A new and interesting view of Slavery. By Humanitas, a colonization advocate. Baltimore, 1820.]

8. Because it was conceived, perfected, and is managed principally by those who hold thousands of their fellow-creatures in cruel bondage, regarding them as cattle, and shamelessly refusing to let them go free; ⁽⁸⁾ and, while they thus estimate and treat their miserable victims, it is a gross fallacy for them to pretend that they cherish any regard for the welfare of the free people of colour. They dare to call the rational creatures of the Most High their *property*, and pertinaciously persist in their deeds of violence and robbery. 'By their fruits ye shall know them.' As consistently might the distillers, importers, and retailers of ardent spirits unite to banish intemperance from the land, by *colonizing all the drunkards*, and still continue to poison all classes of society; as well might debauchees associate together to rid the country of a 'great moral evil,' by removing some of the victims of their lust, as for slave-holders to conspire for the banishment of our free coloured population, under the mask of disinterested philanthropy, while they are daily plundering their slaves of every thing precious and sacred. The spectacle is truly revolting.

(8) 'What greater pledge can we give for the moderation and safety of our measures than our own interests as *slave-holders*, and the ties that bind us to the slave-holding communities to which we belong?'—[Speech of Mr. Key.—Eleventh Annual Report.]

'The earnestness with which the Legislature [of Virginia] prosecuted their design [of colonizing the free blacks] may be inferred from the fact, that the executive was requested to adopt measures of the same character with those just mentioned, at three several times anterior to 1806. But all these, it should be observed, were *private* proceedings; and *the injunction of secrecy has not been removed*, so far as we know, to this day, excepting as to the fact that such proceedings took place. The first *public* expression of sentiment upon the subject of colonization was also made *by the same body*. This was in Dec. 1816.' . . . 'THE SYSTEM ORIGINATED IN THE WISDOM OF THE ANCIENT DOMINION. It was generously countenanced by Georgia in its earliest stages. Maryland has done more for it than all the other States. Kentucky and Tennessee have declared themselves ready to support any legitimate interposition of the General Government in its favour. Louisiana and Mississippi are beginning to act vigorously.'—[North American Review for July, 1832.]

'The second objection may be resolved into this: that the Society, under the specious pretext of removing a vicious and noxious population, is secretly undermining the rights of private property. This is the objection expressed in its full force; and if your memorialists could for a moment believe it to be true in point of fact, they would never, *slave-holders as they are*, have associated themselves together for the purpose of co-operating with the Parent Society; and far less would they have appeared in the character in which

they now do, before the legislative bodies of a slave-holding State.’—[Memorial of the Auxiliary Colonization Society of Powhatan, to the Legislature of Virginia.—Twelfth Annual Report.]

‘Your memorialists refer with confidence to the course they have pursued, in the prosecution of their objects for nine years past, to show that it is possible, without danger or alarm, to carry on such an operation, notwithstanding its supposed relation to the subject of slavery; and that they have not been regardless, in any of their measures, of what was due to the state of society in which they live. *They are, themselves, chiefly slave-holders, and live with all the ties of life binding them to a slave-holding community.*’—[Memorial of the Society to the several States.—Af. Rep. vol. ii. p. 58.]

‘The first great material objection is that the Society does, in fact, in spite of its denial, meditate and conspire the emancipation of the slaves. To the candid, let me say that there are names on the rolls of the Society too high to be rationally accused of the duplicity and insidious falsehood which this implies; farther, the Society and its branches are composed, in by far the larger part, of *citizens of slave-holding States*, who cannot gravely be charged with a design so perilous to themselves.’ * * * ‘Let me repeat, the *friends of the Colonization Society*, three-fourths of them, are **SLAVE-HOLDERS**; the legislatures of Maryland, Georgia, Kentucky and Tennessee, all slaveholding States, have approved it; *every member of this auxiliary Society is, either in himself, or his nearest relatives, interested in holding slaves.*’—[‘The Colonization Society Vindicated.’—Idem, vol. iii. pp. 200, 202.]

‘About twelve years ago, some of the wisest men of the nation, *mostly slave-holders*, formed, in the city of Washington, the present American Colonization Society.’—[Address of the Rockbridge Col. Society.—Idem, vol. iv. p. 274.]

‘*Being chiefly slave-holders ourselves*, we well know how it becomes us to approach such a subject as this in a slave-holding State, and in every other. If there were room for a reasonable jealousy, we, among the first, should feel it; being as much interested in the welfare of the community, and having as much at heart, as any men can have, the security of ourselves, our property, and our families.’—[Review of Mr. Tazewell’s Report.—Idem, p. 341.]

‘*Being mostly slave-holders ourselves*, having a common interest with you in this subject, an equal opportunity of understanding it, and the same motives to prudent action, what better guarantee can be afforded for the just discrimination, and the safe operation of our measures?—[Af. Rep. vol. vii. p. 100.]

9. Because it is Janus-faced, presenting one aspect to the south, and another, entirely different, to the north. Sometimes it is represented by its publications and supporters as the only scheme adapted to abolish slavery and the slave-trade, and evangelize Africa; at other times it denies that it has any reference to either of these subjects, but is simply endeavouring to remove such free persons of colour as wish to emigrate to Africa. ⁽⁹⁾

⁽⁹⁾ ‘Its primary object now is, and ever has been, to colonize, with their own consent, free people of colour on the coast of Africa, or elsewhere, as Congress may deem expedient. And, Sir, I am unwilling to admit, under any circumstances, and particularly in this hall, that it ever has swerved from this cardinal object.’—[Speech of Mr. Benham.—Fourteenth Annual Report, p. 23.]

‘Our Society and the friends of colonization wish to be distinctly understood upon this point. From the beginning they have *disavowed*, and they do yet *disavow*, that their object is the *emancipation of the slaves.*’—[Speech of James S. Green, Esq.—First Annual Report of the New Jersey Col. Soc.]

'This institution proposes to do good by a single specific course of measures. Its direct and specific purpose is *not the abolition of slavery*, or the relief of pauperism, or the extension of commerce and civilization, or the enlargement of science, or the conversion of the heathen. The single object which its constitution prescribes, and to which all its efforts are necessarily directed, is, African colonization from America. It proposes only to afford facilities for the voluntary emigration of free people of colour from this country to the country of their fathers.'—[Review on African Colonization.—Christian Spectator for September, 1830.]

'It is no Abolition Society; it addresses as yet arguments to no master, and disavows with horror the idea of offering temptations to any slave. IT DENIES THE DESIGN OF ATTEMPTING EMANCIPATION, EITHER PARTIAL OR GENERAL.'—['The Col. Society Vindicated.'—Af. Rep. vol. iii. p. 197.]

'They can impress upon the southern slave-holder, by the strength of facts, and by the recorded declarations of honest men, that the objects of the Colonization Society are altogether pure and praiseworthy, and that it has no intention to open the door to universal liberty, but only to cut out a channel, where the merciful providence of God may cause those dark waters to flow off.'—[Idem, vol. iv. p. 145.]

'The Colonization Society, as such, have renounced wholly the name and the characteristics of abolitionists. On this point they have been unjustly and injuriously slandered. INTO THEIR ACCOUNTS THE SUBJECT OF EMANCIPATION DOES NOT ENTER AT ALL.'—['N. E.'—Idem, p. 306.]

'From its origin, and throughout the whole period of its existence, it has constantly disclaimed all intention whatever of interfering, in the smallest degree, with the rights of property, or the *object of emancipation*, GRADUAL or immediate.' * * * * 'The Society presents to the American public *no project of emancipation*.'—[Mr. Clay's Speech.—Idem, vol. vi. pp. 13, 17.]

'It is not the object of this Society to liberate slaves, or touch the rights of property.'—[Report of the Kentucky Col. Soc.—Idem, p. 81.]

'The emancipation of slaves, or the amelioration of their condition, with the moral, intellectual, and political improvement of people of colour within the United States, are subjects foreign to the powers of this Society.'—[Address of the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society to its Auxiliary Societies.—Idem, vol. vii. p. 291.]

'It disclaims, and always has disclaimed, all intention whatever of interfering in the smallest degree, direct or *indirect*, with the rights of slave-holders, the right of property, or the object of emancipation, *gradual* or immediate. It knows that the owner of slaves are the owners, and no one else—it does not, in the most remote degree, touch that delicate subject. Every slave-holder may, therefore, remain at ease concerning it, or its progress or objects.'—[An Advocate of the Society in the New Orleans Argus.]

'The Society, as a society, recognizes no principles in reference to the slave system. IT SAYS NOTHING, AND PROPOSES TO DO NOTHING, RESPECTING IT.'

. . . . 'So far as we can ascertain, the supporters of the colonization policy generally believe, that slavery is in this country a constitutional and legitimate system, WHICH THEY HAVE NEITHER INCLINATION, INTEREST, NOR ABILITY TO DISTURB.'—[North American Review for July, 1832.]

10. Because it impiously holds that slave-holders are such from *necessity*; that the atrocious laws which are enacted against the free coloured and slave population are justified by sound policy; and that it is wrong to increase the number of the free blacks by emancipation. ⁽¹⁰⁾

⁽¹⁰⁾ 'Recognizing the constitutional and legitimate existence of slavery, it seeks not to interfere, either directly or indirectly, with the rights which it creates. Acknowledging the *necessity* by which its present continuance and the rigorous

provisions for its maintenance are justified, it aims only at furnishing the States in which it exists the means of immediately lessening its severities, and of ultimately relieving themselves from its acknowledged evils.'—[Opimius in reply to Caius Gracchus.—Af. Rep. vol. iii. p. 16.]

'IT CONDEMNS NO MAN BECAUSE HE IS A SLAVE-HOLDER.'—[Idem, vol. vii. p. 200.]

'There is a golden mean, which all who would pursue the solid interest and reputation of their country may discern at the very heart of their confederation, and will both advocate and enforce—a principle of justice, conciliation, and humanity—a principle, Sir, which is not inconsistent with itself, and yet can sigh over the degradation of the slave, defend the wisdom and prudence of the South against the charge of studied and pertinacious cruelty,' &c.—[Address of Robert F. Stockton, Esq. at the Eighth Annual Meeting of the Parent Society.]

'We all know, from a variety of considerations which it is unnecessary to name, and in consequence of the policy which is obliged to be pursued in the southern States, that it is extremely difficult to free a slave; and hence the enactment of those laws which a *fatal necessity seems to demand*.'—[African Repository, vol. ii. p. 12.]

'They are convinced that there are now hundreds of masters who are so only from *necessity*.'—[Memorial of the Society to the several States.—Idem, vol. ii. p. 60.]

'He (the planter) looks around him and sees that the condition of the great mass of emancipated Africans is one in comparison with which the condition of his slaves is enviable.—Hundreds of humane and Christian slave-holders retain their fellow-men in bondage, because THEY ARE CONVINCED THAT THEY CAN DO NO BETTER.'—[Address of the Managers of the Col. Soc. of Connecticut.—Idem. vol. iv. p. 120.]

'Slavery, in its mildest form, is an evil of the darkest character. Cruel and unnatural in its origin, no plea can be urged in justification of its continuance but the plea of *necessity*.'—[Idem, vol. v. p. 334.]

'How much more consistent and powerful would be our example, but for that population within our limits, whose condition (*necessary* condition, I will not deny) is so much at war with our institutions, and with that memorable national declaration—that all men are created equal?'—[Fourteenth Ann. Report.]

'Such unhappily is the case; but there is a *necessity* for it, [for oppressive laws,] and so long as they remain among us will that necessity continue.'—[Ninth Annual Report, p. 7.]

'Much as we lament the reasons for this sentiment, and the *apparent necessity* of keeping a single fellow-creature in ignorance, we willingly leave to others the consideration and the remedy of this evil, in view of the overwhelming magnitude of the remaining objects before us.—[Address of the Board of Managers of the African Education Society of the United States.]

'Thousands are connected with the system of slavery from *necessity*, and not from choice.' . . . 'The vast majority of those who would emancipate, we have no hesitation in saying, are deterred from it by a PATRIOTISM and a PHILANTHROPY, which look beyond the bounds of their particular district, and beyond the ostensible quality of the mere abstract act.'—[North American Review, July, 1832.]

'What but sorrow can we feel at the *misguided piety* which has set free so many of them by death-bed devise or sudden conviction of injustice? Better, far better, for us, had they been kept in bondage, where the opportunity, the inducements, the necessity of vice would not have been so great—deplorable *necessity*, indeed, to one borne down with the consciousness of the violence we have done;—yet I am clear that, whether we consider it with reference to the welfare of the State, or the happiness of the blacks, it were better to have left them in chains, than to have liberated them to receive such freedom as they

enjoy; and greater freedom we cannot, must not allow them.'—African Repository, vol. iii. p. 197.]

'They leave a country in which, though born and reared, they are strangers and aliens; where *severe necessity* places them in a class of degraded beings.'—[Idem, vol. v. p. 238.]

'Our great and good men purposed it primarily as a system of relief for two millions of fellow-men in our own country—a population dangerous to ourselves and *necessarily degraded here*.'—[Idem, vol. vi. p. 295.]

'Slavery is a system for the existence of which, a single moment, no plea can be valid but the plea of *necessity*.'—[Letter of Rev. R. R. Gurley, vide Hudson (Ohio) Observer and Telegraph, December 20, 1832.]

'It is a well-established point, that the public safety forbids either the emancipation or the general instruction of the slaves.'—[Seventh Annual Report.]

'The managers could with no propriety depart from their original and avowed purpose, and make emancipation their object. And they would further say, that if they were not thus restrained by the terms of their association, they would still consider any attempts to promote the increase of the free coloured population by manumission, *unnecessary, premature, and dangerous*.'—[African Repository, vol. ii. p. 60.]

'TO SET THEM LOOSE AMONG US WOULD BE AN EVIL MORE INTOLERABLE THAN SLAVERY ITSELF. It would make our situation insecure and dangerous.'—[Report of the Kentucky Col. Soc.—Idem, vol. vi. p. 81.]

'POLICY, and even the voice of humanity, forbade the progress of manumission; and the salutary hand of law came forward to co-operate with our convictions, and to arrest the flow of our feelings, and the ardour of our desires.'—[Review of the Report of the Com. of Foreign Relations.—African Repository, vol. iv. p. 268.]

'Many thousand individuals in our native State, you well know, Mr. President, are restrained,' said Mr. Mercer, 'from manumitting their slaves, as you and I are, by the melancholy conviction that they cannot yield to the suggestions of humanity, without manifest injury to the country.' * * * 'The laws of Virginia now discourage, and very wisely, perhaps, the emancipation of slaves.'—[Speech of Mr. Mercer.—First Annual Report, 15, 16.]

'There are men in the southern States who long to do something effectual for the benefit of their slaves, and would gladly emancipate them, did not PRUDENCE and COMPASSION alike forbid such a measure.'—[Review of the Reports of the Society from the Christian Spectator.—Seventh Annual Report.]

'We do not ask that the provisions of our constitution and statute-book should be so modified as to relieve and exalt the condition of the coloured people, *whilst they remain with us*. LET THESE PROVISIONS STAND IN ALL THEIR RIGOUR, to work out the ultimate and unbounded good of this people. Persuaded that their condition here is not susceptible of a radical and permanent improvement, we would deprecate any legislation that should encourage the vain and injurious hope of it.'—[Memorial of the New-York State Col. Society.]

11. Because its mode of civilizing and christianizing Africa is preposterous, cruel, and wild, and exactly fitted to raise up strong if not insurmountable barriers to the progress of the gospel in that country; for the very persons it proposes to remove, it describes as constituting the vilest class on the face of the earth, who nevertheless are well qualified to act as instructors and missionaries in Liberia! * Truly has it been

* 'EVERY EMIGRANT to Africa is a MISSIONARY, carrying with him credentials in the holy cause of civilization, religion, and free institutions'!!! —[Speech of Mr. Clay—Tenth Annual Report.]

said, that the project of evangelizing a heathenish country, by sending to it an illiterate, degraded, and irreligious population, for absurdity and inaptitude, stands, and must for ever stand, without a parallel: of all the offspring of prejudice and oppression, it is the most shapeless and unnatural. Men who are intellectually and morally blind are violently removed from light effulgent into thick darkness, in order that they may obtain light themselves and diffuse light among others ! Ignorance is sent to instruct ignorance, ungodliness to exhort ungodliness, vice to stop the progress of vice, and depravity to reform depravity ! All that is abhorrent to our moral sense, or dangerous to our quietude, or villanous in human nature, we benevolently disgorge upon Africa for her temporal and eternal welfare ! ⁽¹¹⁾ We propose to build upon her shores, for her glory and defence, colonies framed of materials which we discard as worthless for our own use, and which possess no fitness or durability ! Admirable consistency ! surprising wisdom ! unexampled benevolence !

⁽¹¹⁾ 'Free blacks are a greater nuisance than even slaves themselves.'—[Af. Repository, vol. ii. p. 189.]

'Although there are individual exceptions distinguished by high moral and intellectual worth, yet the free blacks in our country are, as a body, more vicious and degraded than any other which our population embraces.' * * * 'There is not a state in the Union [which is] not at this moment groaning under the evil of this class of persons, a curse and a contagion wherever they reside.'—[Idem. vol. iii. pp. 24, 203.]

'Mr. Mercer adverted to the situation of his native state, and the condition of the free black population existing there, whom he described as a horde of miserable people—the objects of universal suspicion ; SUBSISTING BY PLUNDER.—[Idem, vol. iv. p. 363.]

'Of all the descriptions of our population, and of either portion of the African race, the free people of colour are by far, as a class, the MOST CORRUPT, DEPRAVED, AND ABANDONED.' . . . 'They have no home, no country, no kindred, no friends. They are lazy and indolent, because they have no motives to prompt them to be industrious. They are in general destitute of principle, because they have nothing to stimulate them to honourable and praiseworthy conduct.—[Idem, vol. vi. pp. 12, 228.]

'The existence, within the very bosom of our country, of an anomalous race of beings, THE MOST DEBASED UPON EARTH, who neither enjoy the blessings of freedom, nor are yet in the bonds of slavery, is a great national evil, which every friend of his country most deeply deploras.'—[Idem, vol. vii. p. 230.]

'The class we first seek to remove are neither freemen nor slaves ; but between both, and more miserable than either.' * * * 'Leaving slavery and its subjects for the moment entirely out of view, there are in the United States 238,000 blacks denominated free, but whose freedom confers on them, we might say, no privilege but the privilege of being more vicious and miserable than slaves can be.'—[Seventh Annual Report, pp. 12, 99.]

'Of all classes of our population, the most vicious is that of the free coloured. It is the inevitable result of their moral, political, and civil degradation. Contaminated themselves, they extend their vices to all around them, to the slaves and to the whites.'—[Tenth Annual Report, p. 21.]

12. Because it is held in abhorrence by the free people of

colour, wherever they possess the liberty of speech and the means of intelligence, as a scheme full of evil to themselves and to their enslaved brethren; and to expect a change in their sentiments, after so long a time, and the reiterated public expressions of their undying hostility, is gross fatuity. ⁽¹²⁾

(12) RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE COLOURED INHABITANTS OF
PHILADELPHIA.

Resolved, That we view with deep abhorrence the unmerited stigma attempted to be cast upon the reputation of the free people of colour, by the promoters of this measure, 'that they are a dangerous and useless part of the community,' when in the state of disfranchisement in which they live, in the hour of danger, they ceased to remember their wrongs, and rallied around the standard of their country.

Resolved, That we never will separate ourselves voluntarily from the slave population in this country; they are our brethren by the ties of consanguinity, of suffering, and of wrong; and we feel that there is more virtue in suffering privations with them, than fancied advantages for a season.

BY THE COLOURED INHABITANTS OF NEW-YORK.

Resolved, That we view the resolution calling on the worshippers of Christ, to assist in the unholy crusade against the coloured population of this country, as totally at variance with true Christian principles.

Resolved, That we claim this country, the place of our birth, and not Africa, as our mother country, and all attempts to send us to Africa we consider as gratuitous and uncalled-for.

BY THE COLOURED INHABITANTS OF BOSTON.

Resolved, That this meeting look upon the American Colonization Society as a clamorous, abusive, and peace-disturbing combination.

Resolved, That this meeting look upon the conduct of those clergymen, who have filled the ears of their respective congregations with the absurd idea of the necessity of removing the free coloured people from the United States, as highly deserving the just reprehension directed to the false prophets and priests, by Jeremiah the true prophet, as recorded in the 23rd chapter of his prophecy.

BY THE COLOURED INHABITANTS OF BALTIMORE.

Resolved, That it is the belief of this meeting, that the American Colonization Society is founded more in a selfish policy, than in the true principles of benevolence:—and, therefore, so far as it regards the life-giving spring of its operations, is not entitled to our confidence, but should be viewed by us with all that caution and distrust which our happiness demands.

BY THE COLOURED INHABITANTS OF WASHINGTON, D. C.

Resolved, That this meeting view with distrust the efforts made by the Colonization Society to cause the free people of colour of these United States to emigrate to Liberia on the coast of Africa, or elsewhere.

Resolved, That it is the declared opinion of the members of this meeting, that the soil which gave them birth is their only true and veritable home, and that it would be impolitic, unwise, and improper for them to leave their home without the benefits of education.

BY THE COLOURED INHABITANTS OF BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Resolved, unanimously, That the call of this meeting be approved of; and that the coloured citizens of this village have, with friendly feelings, taken into consideration the objects of the American Colonization Society, together with all its auxiliary movements, preparatory for our removal to the coast of Africa;

and we view them as wholly gratuitous, not called for by us, and not essential to the real welfare of our race.

BY THE COLOURED INHABITANTS OF HARFORD, CT.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this meeting, that the American Colonization Society is actuated by the same motives which influenced the mind of Pharaoh, when he ordered the male children of the Israelites to be destroyed.

Resolved, That it is the belief of this meeting, that the Society is the greatest foe to the free coloured and slave population with whom liberty and equality have to contend.

Resolved, That, in our belief, we have committed no crime worthy of banishment, and that we will resist, even unto death, all the attempts of the Colonization Society to banish us from this our native land.

BY THE COLOURED INHABITANTS OF MIDDLETOWN, CT.

Resolved, That the proceedings of our brethren in Brooklyn, N. Y., meet our entire approbation: they breathe our sentiments in full, and may our voices cheerfully accord with them in protesting against leaving this our native soil.

BY THE COLOURED INHABITANTS OF NEWHAVEN, CT.

Resolved, That we will resist all attempts made for our removal to the torrid shores of Africa, and will sooner suffer every drop of blood to be taken from our veins than submit to such unrighteous treatment.

Resolved, That we consider the American Colonization Society founded on principles that no Afric-American, unless very weak in mind, will follow; and any man who will be persuaded to leave his own country, and go to Africa, is an enemy to his country, and a traitor to his brethren.

BY THE COLOURED INHABITANTS OF COLUMBIA, PA.

Resolved, That it is our firm belief, that the Colonization Society is replete with infinite mischief, and that we view all the arguments of its advocates as mere sophistry, not worthy our notice as freemen.

Resolved, That we will not be duped out of our rights as freemen, by colonizationists, nor by any other combination of men. All the encomiums pronounced upon Liberia can never form the least temptation to induce us to leave our native soil, to emigrate to a strange land.

Resolved, That it is the decided opinion of this meeting, that African colonization is a scheme of southern policy, a wicked device of slave-holders who are desirous of riveting more firmly, and perpetuating more certainly, the fetters of slavery; who are only anxious to rid themselves of a population whose presence, influence, and example, have a tendency (as they suppose) to produce discontent among the slaves, and to furnish them with incitements to rebellion.

BY THE COLOURED INHABITANTS OF NANTUCKET.

Resolved, That the call of this meeting be approved of, and that the coloured citizens of this town have with friendly feelings taken into consideration the objects of the Colonization Society, together with its movements preparatory for our removal to the coast of Africa; and we view them as wholly gratuitous, not called for by us, and in no way essential to the welfare of our race; and we believe that our condition can be best improved in this our own country and native soil, the United States of America.

Resolved, That there is no philanthropy towards the people of colour in the colonization plan, but that it is got up to delude us away from our country and home into a country of sickness and death.

BY THE COLOURED INHABITANTS OF PITTSBURG, PA.

Resolved, That it is the decided opinion of this meeting, that African colonization is a scheme to drain the better-informed part of the coloured people

out of these United States, so that the chain of slavery may be riveted more tightly ; but we are determined not to be cheated out of our rights by the colonization men, or any other set of intriguers.

Resolved, That we, the coloured people of Pittsburg and citizens of these United States, view the country in which we live as our only true and proper home. We are just as much natives here as the members of the Colonization Society. Here we were born—here bred—here are all our earliest and most pleasant associations—here is all that binds man to earth, and makes life valuable. And we do consider every coloured man who allows himself to be colonized in Africa, or elsewhere, a traitor to our cause.

BY THE COLOURED INHABITANTS OF WILMINGTON, DEL.

Resolved, That this meeting view with deep regret the attempt now making to colonize the free people of colour on the western coast of Africa ; believing as we do that it is inimical to the best interests of the people of colour, and at variance with the principles of civil and religious liberty, and wholly incompatible with the spirit of the constitution and declaration of independence of these United States.

Resolved, That we disclaim all connexion with Africa ; and, although the descendants of that much-afflicted country, we cannot consent to remove to any tropical climate, and thus aid in a design having for its object the total extirpation of our race from this country, professions to the contrary notwithstanding.

BY THE COLOURED INHABITANTS OF HARRISBURG, PA.

Resolved, That we reject the inhuman and unchristian measures taken by the Colonization Society, for the illumination of the coloured citizens of the United States, their appropriate home, in a land of sickness, affliction, and death, when they are not willing, with few exceptions, to give us a Christian education while among them.

Resolved, That this meeting look upon the Colonization Society as a vicious, nefarious, and peace-disturbing combination, and that its leaders might as well essay to cure a wound with an argument, or set a dislocated bone by a lecture on logic, as to tell us their object is to better our condition.

BY THE COLOURED INHABITANTS OF ROCHESTER, N. Y.

Resolved, That we never will remove to Africa ; but should any of our brethren wish to emigrate, we would recommend Canada as a country far more congenial to our constitutions.

BY THE COLOURED INHABITANTS OF PROVIDENCE, R. I.

Resolved, That we view, with unfeigned astonishment, the anti-christian and inconsistent conduct of those who so strenuously advocate our removal from this our native country to the burning shores of Liberia, and who with the same breath contend against the cruelty and injustice of Georgia in her attempt to remove the Cherokee Indians west of the Mississippi.

Resolved, That we will not leave our homes, nor the graves of our fathers, and this boasted land of liberty and Christian philanthropy.

BY THE COLOURED INHABITANTS OF TRENTON, N. J.

Resolved, Whereas we have lived peaceably and quietly in these United States, of which we are natives, and have never been the cause of any insurrectionary or tumultuous movements as a body, that we do view every measure taken by any associated bodies to remove us to other climes, anti-christian and hostile to our peace, and a violation of the laws of humanity.

Resolved, That we view the American Colonization Society as the most inveterate foe both to the free and slave man of colour.

BY THE COLOURED INHABITANTS OF LYME, CT.

Resolved, That it is the sincere opinion of this meeting, that the American Colonization Society is one of the wildest projects ever patronised by a body

of enlightened men; and further, that many of those who support it would be willing, if it were in their power, to drive us out of existence.

Resolved, That though we be last in calling a meeting, we feel no less the pernicious influence of this Society than the rest of our brethren; and that we will resist every attempt to banish us from this our native land.

BY THE COLOURED INHABITANTS OF LEWISTOWN, PA.

Resolved, that we will not leave these United States, the land of our birth, for a home in Africa.

Resolved, That we will strenuously oppose the colonizing of the free people of colour in Liberia.

BY THE COLOURED INHABITANTS OF NEW-BEDFORD.

Resolved, That in whatever light we view the Colonization Society, we discover nothing in it but terror, prejudice, and oppression; that the warm and beneficent hand of philanthropy is not apparent in the system; but the influence of the Society on public opinion is more prejudicial to the interest and welfare of the people of colour in the United States than slavery itself.

BY THE NATIONAL COLOURED CONVENTION, HELD IN PHILADELPHIA,
IN 1831.

The Convention has not been unmindful of the operations of the American Colonization Society; and it would respectfully suggest to that august body of learning, talent, and worth, that, in our humble opinion, strengthened too by the opinions of eminent men in this country, as well as in Europe, that they are pursuing the direct road to perpetuate slavery, with all its unchristian-like concomitants, in this boasted land of freedom; and, as citizens and men, whose best blood is sapped to gain popularity for that institution, we would, in the most feeling manner, beg of them to desist: or, if we must be sacrificed to their philanthropy, we would rather die at home. Many of our fathers, and some of us, have fought and bled for the liberty, independence, and peace which you now enjoy; and, surely, it would be ungenerous and unfeeling in you to deny us a humble and quiet grave in that country which gave us birth.

BY THE SAME CONVENTION IN 1832.

Resolved, That we still solemnly and sincerely protest against any interference, on the part of the American Colonization Society, with the free coloured population in these United States, so long as they shall countenance or endeavour to use coercive measures, (either directly or indirectly,) to colonize us in any place which is not the object of our choice. And we ask them respectfully, as men and as Christians, to cease their unhallowed persecutions of a people already sufficiently oppressed; or if, as they profess, they have our welfare and prosperity at heart, to assist us in the object of our choice.

We might here repeat our protest against that institution; but it is unnecessary. Our views and sentiments have long since gone to the world—the wings of the wind have borne our disapprobation to that institution. *Time itself cannot erase it.* We have dated our opposition from its beginning, and our views are strengthened by time and circumstances, and they hold the uppermost seat in our affections.

Finally, abolitionists oppose the Colonization Society, *because it neither calls for any change of conduct toward the people of colour, on the part of the nation, NOR HAS IN ITSELF ANY PRINCIPLE OF REFORM.* It confesses to be actuated and governed by strong, vindictive prejudices—‘prejudices, which neither refinement, nor argument, nor education, *nor religion itself,* can overcome,’—prejudices ‘which

are fixed beyond the control of any human power,' which spring 'from an ordination of Providence,' and which are 'no more to be changed than the laws of nature.' But benevolence and prejudice do not run in the same channel---they are opposed to each other. Hence the Society is not a benevolent institution, according to its own confessions; and, therefore, does not deserve the confidence or patronage of benevolent men.

To prove the truth of the last allegation, it is only necessary to remember that the reason which is given by the Society for expatriating the coloured population is,---*the wickedness of the people*---the determination, on their part, never to cease from persecuting those whom they have so long abused, degraded, and enslaved. Yet the Society boasts that it receives the support of a great majority of the nation---that it is cherished by all religious denominations---and that it is hailed emphatically by '*the voice of the people*.' If this be so,---if the friends of the Society constitute an overwhelming majority in this country, and they are actuated by true philanthropy,---if it is opposed only by '*a few wild fanatics*,' otherwise named *abolitionists*, (who, certainly, are ready to give the people of colour equal rights and privileges,)---and if, nevertheless, nothing but colonization can save the coloured population from persecution and servitude,---is it not evident that nothing is wanting to render unnecessary this disgraceful expulsion, but that the supporters of the scheme should abandon their prejudices, clothe themselves with humility, and be Christians and republicans indeed? It is undeniable that the popularity of the Society is immense; but if it be a benevolent institution, and exercise a wide and powerful moral influence, and is thus popular, how does it happen that no change, but for the worse, has taken place in the legal condition of the people of colour, or in public sentiment? Has one prejudice been eradicated by its operations? Has it commended itself to the gratitude and confidence of the objects of its *benevolence*, as the Howard Benevolent Society has done to the recipients of its bounty? Are not all who are hostile to our free coloured population, in favour of their banishment? Is not the design of the Society universally agreeable to the proud, the vulgar, the insolent, the scornful? Who, but its supporters, descendant upon the prejudices which exist against the blacks? who, but themselves, acknowledge that they are swayed by those prejudices---powerfully and unalterably?



